1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the *fachure* of families, especially if they happened to be *kokior*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by scratching or pinching at their genitals. (Incidentally, gripping a man's testicles, *kokiaw*, was a common trick in fighting; and co-wives, *nekiwun*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *Ñenechen* ("God") would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *ekchi-malfen*, would snatch away their shadows (*pruh*).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *kuluk*.*

* Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1930a, p. 71.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1991 SC4 Araucanians SC4
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[61] Mapuche masks are simple affairs, usually carved of wood, and
293 worn over the face. They always resemble the human face, and never that of an animal or some inanimate object. Sometimes masks are said to represent generalized evil spirits called *wekufü*, but in public ceremonies they may be worn by sanctioned clowns. It used to be customary for each household to have a *koiñ* or two on hand, but this is no more the case, and only a few people still possess masks.

[66] A masker would come to frighten a child by prearrangement with the parents in cases, for example, in which a youngster was known to have the bad habit of wandering out of the house after nightfall. But if a child were unexpectedly troublesome, or had an extended crying spell, any neighboring friend or relative might show up of his own volition.

Frightening a naughty youngster was formerly carried out at two different levels of intensity. In milder cases, when the parents heard a masker coming they would instruct the child to hide in a sack, from which they released him as soon as the wearer of the *koiñ* had departed. If this treatment failed of its effect, a masker would carry off the child in the sack in which it was hidden. He would speak loudly of throwing his bundle into the river or among wild animals, but soon he would pretend to tire and put the sack down, thus giving the child a chance to escape and scamper home.

•[67] Nowadays, informal education begins as soon as a child learns to walk and to speak Mapuche. He is taught not to approach the fireplace too closely, never to waste food, and to be honest. During the long nights of the winter season he hears many folk tales that convey moral lessons, tribal legends and beliefs, accounts of military exploits, and cleverly worded songs that cover a wide range of topics.[9] Boys, especially, are encouraged to memorize and sing songs and to learn to speak well and boldly, for oratory and verbal skill are highly regarded masculine accomplishments.

Other aspects of education for small youngsters are left primarily to mothers and grandfolk, since men work in the fields, go out hunting, and spend much of the time

[9] Hilger, supra p. 273; and Titiev, supra p. 6.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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these flowers for you; now we have to use paler ones." They had drawn conventionalized daisylike flowers. Children who drew houses chose a variety of colors for parts of houses, such as walls, doors, windows, and roofs. Smoke was colored brown by each one; water, blue; grass, green; and the flag of Chile, red, blue, and white in the proper places. Two little girls sat quiet for about five minutes, thinking, after the time for drawing had been announced. "I shall make a house," said one. "And I shall make a flower," said the second. In 10 minutes a pencil sketch had been made of the flower; only one line of the house had been drawn. "I must get a ruler," said the first one; "I cannot make a pretty house without a ruler." 822

Children everywhere enjoyed flowers, which were found in many gardens. Near one ruka a 5-year-old boy stuck three little flowers into the sweater of his 2-year-old brother. Their older sister remarked: "These two boys go into the garden every morning to pick flowers; they like flowers. So do I. I always have a little bouquet where I work." A bouquet stood on a low table near her loom. 824 857

When schoolchildren were asked what animals they recognized because of their odor, the skunk and the pig were listed, the former four times oftener than the latter. To the question, "Can you smell, when you come home, that strangers have been there?" all answered, "No." Many noted that the smoke overcame all odors in the ruka. 151

COURTESY, GRACIOUSNESS, OBEDIENCE

Courtesy is taught to children in a positive way. A parent will see to it that a child, no matter how young, shakes hands with everyone who arrives at the ruka; if the child happens not to be at home when visitors arrive, it must do so when it comes home. It is pleasant to see even a toddler going from one visitor to another and shaking hands. 867 ● 576

When elders speak, children either listen or are expected to be, and usually are, busy in a quiet way at play or work. During an interview a 7-year-old boy repeatedly asked his mother for something which she was obviously refusing him; conversation between them was in whispers. When I suggested that the boy be given what he wanted, the mother replied that what he wanted he was not to have. She finally turned to him and said gently, but with determination, "Learn to be a little man." Soon after that she diverted his interest by sending him out of the ruka to quiet a barking dog.

Children are trained not to pass in front of persons. On occasions, during interviews, when there was much space between speakers and very little back of them, a child crawled low to pass behind persons.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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857 576 or squeezed himself through a narrow space. Children pay this same courtesy to each other. "Anybody with sense," said a grandmother, "would know that much, and would show that much respect to others; only animals could be excused for such actions as passing in front of others."

● 867 Children are taught to give and to share. On one occasion a mother showed a handkerchief that I had given her to her 6-year-old son, and then led him by the hand to the storage space in the rear, put an egg into each of his hands, pushed him forward toward me, and had him give me the eggs and say, "This is for you." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher on sharing: "I have often been edified at the manner in which children will share with each other. If one helps me with work, or does me a favor, and I repay him, say with a sweet roll, he will break off pieces and hand everyone present a piece the next minute. When a football club was being formed early in the school year, every boy was expected to pay a peso. One boy did not have that amount; at once others handed him extra centavos they had. Another time children were buying notebooks, and one of the girls had no money. Another girl slipped her a coin immediately."

From the time a child gives evidence of comprehending an order, it is trained to obey—the mother recognizes this when she has sent a child some place to carry out her bidding, and the child has done so. The mother will say, "Kimfil fi pemei" or "Kimfil pichi" (my child already understands). Such a child is addressed as pichi weche qen (little one) or as pichi weche wentru (little young man). "Some children can carry out an order when three or four years old; others not until they are five or six." From then on until puberty, the boy is spoken of as futa wentru (growing-up boy); the girl as futa domo (growing-up girl). The adolescent boy is addressed as pichi wentru (little man); the girl as pichi domo (little woman).

A child that does not obey promptly may be warned, but an order is not repeated. Orders may come from older brothers and sisters, as well as from parents. Children that were handed, corrected, or ordered to do a thing obeyed willingly and quite promptly. A 13-year-old girl told her 9-year-old brother to fetch her a basket; promptly he went for it. A 7-year-old boy was told by his older sister to spit a blade of grass out of his mouth; he did so at once. A 60-year-old woman, when asked "How can you manage four sons?" answered with a laugh: "I am like a lion in my house! My boys all obey me. From little on, when I wanted them to do a thing, I told them once, plainly so they understood; if they did not obey then, I knew they were stubborn and I used a stick on them."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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resented. "It is considered a vile expression," the teacher added. "Children who know very little Spanish will use it when their anger has been roused."

Temper tantrums were not usual on the part of small children; seldom did an older child have one. Mothers ignored such displays: "The child is merely angry and such a child has to learn to live alone with its anger or to overcome it." Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "I have often seen a child tied to its cradleboard, crying pitifully and continuously, with no one paying the slightest attention to it. Just yesterday I said to a mother, 'Maybe the baby wants its little arms freed; it has cried so long.' To which the mother replied, 'No; it is only self-willed.' Recently a little 2-year-old girl had a fit of temper—she threw herself on the floor of the ruka, kicked, and screamed. I suggested to the mother that she spank her, and so help her to overcome her temper. The mother looked at me with surprise and said, 'I could not spank so small a child; she will learn by and by, if no one pays any attention to her.' I could not bear the screaming any longer. I picked up the child, looked at her sternly, and gave her a few gentle taps on her back. She stopped crying immediately and looked at me. The mother remarked, 'She is surprised; she has never had that done to her.'"

WEALTH, INVOCATION

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An unclaimed child exists. Parents, however, feel disgraced by the act, and see to it that the stolen object is returned, if possible without implicating the child. The following examples seem to indicate this: A football disappeared from a school room. The teacher spoke of it, saying that the one who had it in his possession, or anything else that did not belong to him, could not be at peace with his conscience and had better return the thing to the rightful owner. Shortly afterward the boy whom she suspected told her that he had seen the ball in a swamp, not far from his home. Two sisters in their late teens attended private sewing lessons taught at school on Saturdays. One Saturday a box of pins disappeared. The following Monday the teacher announced to her class that the pins were missing and that the thieves were known, and told the children to report at home that unless the pins were returned the names of the thieves would be made public as a warning to others. The following day, before school was called, a brother of the suspected girls stayed close to the teacher's desk; all other children were on the playground. Thinking he wanted to return the pins unbeknown to her, the teacher left the room. When

10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
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she returned the box of glue was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 13 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

But all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink to excess and I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were telling me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.'" Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaya (not identified) was learned from Hunucu in 1932 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Hunucu: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the foremost of their characters came true. The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would turn out to be."

ABSENCE OF POPULARITY RITES, GAMBLING

The Araucanians have no popularity rites, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a popularity fear. Cupidousness, however, is taken of

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fun of a rule. Relatives, friends, and neighbors assisted each other in these occupations. Muday, the traditional alcoholic beverage, was formerly drunk; in more recent times, and at present, it is chicha, either home-brewed or obtained from Chilean dealers. If a family can afford it, Chilean wine is also taken. Non-Araucanians thought that most persons satisfied their taste for alcohol by eating fermented potatoes (*loco* pond, pp. 208-209). 273

Today a keg of chicha is consumed whenever relatives, friends, and neighbors get together. Traditionally, as noted, such times are threshing time and rain-building time; to these have been added the event of a sale of a goodly number of cattle or sheep; the baptism of a child; and all civil and religious fiestas—never, however, when people are gathered for the gillatun. "Most certainly not then; no one is intoxicated at the gillatun." Heavy drinking is usually begun toward the end of the event. Cooper's earliest sources consistently attribute heavy drinking to the Araucanians, with heaviest drinking done at feasts (1946, p. 741).

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTION

Teaching the child was the responsibility of its immediate family, chiefly the parents, but also brothers and sisters. Grandparents, uncles, and aunts, and other relatives were the child's teachers only when they filled the place of parents, something which happened when a parent was ill over a long period of time, when a grandparent reared a child because of a wish or a necessity to have a companion, or when the child lived in the home of a grandparent, aunt, or uncle because the child's parents had deserted it or had died, or it was adopted for some reason. 267 268

While the child was very young, the mother was its chief teacher. As a girl grew older, she was instructed by her mother in household duties; the father instructed the boy in a man's work. In matters of character and moral training, parents often shared responsibilities; they took time out both to instruct and to counsel their children. "Whenever there is leisure time, or we think it is an opportune time to do so, like during an afternoon, my husband and I sit down with our boys—we have only boys—and instruct them like all fathers and mothers do—we advise them regarding things they must know, especially in what is the right thing to do."

The spokesman for a group of eight men, all collaborating, told that each son is trained directly by the father to have respect for his

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867 father and to obey him in all things; never to answer his father back; and to follow these instruction until his father's death.

868 Parents recognized their responsibilities in the training of their children. "We watch our children closely. We do not allow them to say anything that is not true; if they tell an untruth, somebody will say that their brother is the devil. Really we are very strict with our children in such things as lying or stealing." Alepúe schoolchildren said that they had been told by parents not to play on the way to or from school; not to steal; not to leave gates in fences open; not to get clothes dirty; not to fight; not to pilfer at home; and not to tear their clothes.

Communities recognize parents as the proper instructors. Informants made excuses for children whose homes were disturbed because parents disagreed and quarreled, were untrue to each other, or were not law-abiding. It was said of such parents: "No wonder their children are so poorly trained; there is no one in that family who can give them proper instructions; neither parent is doing right," or "One wonders how those children can grow up to be good. Since the parents are not doing what is right, they can give their children no corrections." Older relatives, today as formerly, often take it upon themselves to give good advice to growing boys and girls during the days of the ñillatun.

Generally speaking, the small child has great freedom and is not coerced into learning. "Since it does not have much comprehension, it cannot be taught much. The best way to bring up a small child is to ignore what it does; as it grows up, it will learn what is expected of it." As children develop, however, they are expected to learn within the limits of their comprehension.

828 Variations in mental and physical development are recognized. "Quite certainly a child that has difficulty learning to walk or to talk should be helped; children are not all alike; some grow up as they should; others have to be helped. There are similar differences in grown-up people: some are slower than others." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "If a child cannot comprehend well, parents merely say in a matter-of-fact way that he has a poor head; that he just cannot learn fast. They are never ashamed of a retarded child."

Parents are aware, too, of variations in response to character training. No explanation is given for a difficult child; it is hoped that it will grow up without giving serious trouble. On one occasion a father requested me to take pictures of himself and his children in the process of harvesting grain. His 7-year-old daughter who was helping him was either unwilling or frightened; she said she did not wish to

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COURTESY, HELPFULNESS

Conduct of children during interviews left little to be desired. Children have always been taught by elders, in a positive way, the ordinary courtesies of life. One such courtesy required that no one enter a dwelling unless invited to do so by someone living there. Today, hands are clapped to let persons within know of one's presence—a custom probably adopted from the Argentines; children who acted as our guides repeatedly made our presence known in this manner. Respect for elders was another courtesy taught with emphasis. "Times have changed, but I still teach my children to be very respectful to old people. Some children in this area throw stones at older persons, especially at intoxicated ones. I will not allow my children to do that."

Children have always been taught to be helpful. Many instances of this teaching came to my attention. During an interview a grandmother spoke in quiet tones to a 13-year-old girl, telling her to be courteous and helpful to me and my field assistant, since we were strangers. The girl understood. She brought a table from the house, placed it in the shade of a tree, washed its top, spread a flour sack as a tablecloth over it, and then placed my lunch box on it. She next stirred up the fire and boiled water for tea. Later in the afternoon a wind blew up and sand was being blown off a grassless plot nearby to the place where we were interviewing the grandmother. A word from the grandmother and the girl was dashing water onto the grassless plot from a brook at our feet. Before long the girl lighted a cigarette, made certain it was lit by puffing on it, and handed it to her grandmother, who took a puff and then passed it to a man who had come to listen in. Toward evening the grandmother ordered the girl to stir the embers and place on them an olla of fresh water, which she had brought from a nearby spring. As soon as the water boiled, the girl prepared yerba maté (a beverage) and handed a cup of it to her grandmother who passed it to the interpreter. The girl prepared a second serving which the grandmother handed to the man who had come to listen in. The grandmother herself drank the third serving, also prepared by the girl. The interpreter had explained that neither I nor my assistant was accustomed to drinking yerba maté, so we gave no offense by not taking it.

During an interview some days later a 6-year-old girl was told by her great-grandmother (older than 100 years) to stop her playing and give attention to me and my assistant, for we had come from far away to visit the Araucanians. The girl sat down close to the field assistant. In a moment she was up removing the assistant's coat from

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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867 a fence. "Do not hang your coat there on that fence; birds come there, and they may dirty it." After viewing the assistant admiringly for a little while, she ran to the garden and picked a bouquet of flowers for her; later in the day she presented her with two additional bouquets. When the wind disturbed the pages of the assistant's notebook, the little girl held them down. When chickens, dogs, or cats came near, she chased them away. With wads of wool she removed burrs from the assistant's slacks.

During another interview, school-age boys scampered off in search of medicinal plants that their grandmother was talking about, or they brought samples of them from stored supplies. In quiet tones they reminded the grandmother of information regarding their uses that she had forgotten to tell. When basketry was being discussed, they brought baskets to be looked at. During a demonstration of spinning and weaving by a woman, her children added details of explanations she forgot to tell.

Other instances of courtesies and helpfulness on the part of children were observed: Children always halted an instance to say "con su permiso" (with your permission) when about to pass in front of anyone. When we admired the flowering notro, which could be seen in bright red patches in many places on mountainsides, a 10-year-old boy ran out of the house and up the mountainside to fetch some. He returned with large branches, placed about his smiling face like a picture frame. When his mother set out to collapse her loom so that it could be moved into the open to be photographed, he immediately helped her do so and assisted in setting it up again. This done, he warmed milk for a sick kitten. In doing so, he inadvertently pushed over a bowl of sugar. Quietly he called his mother's attention to this, obviously regretting the accident. The mother remarked, "It is all right," and the boy set out to spoonfeed the kitten (pl. 63, *f*).

BOASTING, JEALOUSY

865 Parents taught children not to be boastful or jealous. "It is best to teach children to be simple. There is really nothing for people to boast about. A child that boasts is remarked about or made aware of his boasting. Older persons may say, 'Where does this boaster come from? He does not belong to us.'" A woman in her sixties listened to a boasting child and then asked, "Do you really think that is true?" And then laughed. "The child knows then that I do not believe what it said." A woman a generation older listened to a boasting child but paid no further attention to it. "Children talk that way. One will

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861 aunt arrive, and the woman delivered her baby that night alone. When her husband came home he explained to the boy in no uncertain terms what his duties had been. When the boy would not give his father the reasons for not getting his aunt, the father tied a lasso about the boy's neck, threw the end of it over a rafter, and raised and lowered the boy for about a half hour. He finally let the boy down and removed the lasso. The boy fainted. "But his father shook him, and he came to. No, no, the boy did not die; Araucanians do not die so easily. The father made the boy kneel down and beg his pardon and promise never to do anything like that again."

An 8- or 9-year-old child that persisted in disobeying after having been admonished and whipped was thought to have bad blood. Its mother performed the kutiduam on it to remove the bad blood, that is, she pierced a vein at the child's wrist—"maybe with a piece of glass that is as sharp as a needle"—and let flow a small amount of blood.

During an interview an 80-year-old grandmother ordered her 8-year-old granddaughter, who was sitting by idly, listening in, to get her knitting. "That girl has been knitting on that pullover for more than a year," the grandmother noted. Her 10-year-old grandson she ordered to chase back turkeys that were wandering away, and after that to take the sheep to pasture. She complained about the lack of obedience of her 19-year-old grandson. She was displeased with the manner in which he was taking a sheep to the village to be sold—he was transporting it on horseback. "Do not put the sheep in back of you; put it in front of you, so it will have some shade," she called to him. "Why must you leave at this time of day [2 p.m.]? It is too hot to be leaving now." But the young man rode off. Later when she could see him again as he was riding down the mountainside, she remarked: "Why is he wearing his poncho? It is neither cold nor raining! I scold this boy much. He is only 19 and often hesitates to obey. When I scold him he says he is leaving home; but he always comes back and is very amiable when he does come back."

LYING, STEALING, INTOXICATION

867 Formerly, children rarely lied; they were admonished not to, and punishment was sometimes dealt out to liars. "A child that lied and did not correct its lies was called early by the father on the following day and was told, 'Yesterday you lied to me. I do not want you to do that again. I want you to remember that you are not to do that again.' That is what my father told his children, and that is how I

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dealt with my children." A woman older than 100 years remembered that she once sent one of her children, a little boy, to a neighbor with a message which required an answer. He brought back an answer, but later she discovered that he had made it up himself—he had not gone to the neighbor. "I whipped him with a stick then for lying to me." Children lie today. 867

A child that stole was made to return the stolen object. This is done today. "But children usually do not steal; a small child does not know any better, and an older one knows enough not to do so." "A child so high [about 5 years old] that takes something must certainly is not considered to be a thief, but a boy whose voice is beginning to change or a grown-up man who steals is a thief. Girls and women did not steal; at least I have never heard of one that did." Nothing is done to a child that pilfers food: "That is really not important; he is probably hungry, and this is his home."

Intoxicating drinks were not given to children as beverages unless parents wished to discover the personality that was being developed by an adolescent son, or one a little older, in which case they might give him to excess an intoxicating drink known as chicha. A few families were known to have done so to a son who was only four years of age. If the boy, when completely drunk, grabbed a bottle of chicha, everyone present knew that in his mature years he would be a drunkard; if he lay down and slept, he would be a quiet man; if he grabbed a lasso, he would do well with animals; if he ran around and yelled, he would be an angry and jealous man; if he tried to fight, he would be a quarrelsome man. "I once saw such a boy trying to fight with a tree." Parents will be frightened at their son's conduct and worried at the thought of his future—"but they can do nothing about it." Many persons were invited to witness the performance. Each boy was tested separately. Girls were not so tested. 787 273

Young men in their twenties were known to have drunk to intoxication but only with the express permission of the father or, in his absence, the mother. "Some men asked permission when they were 30 years old. Today no one asks permission; today some begin to drink at 12." Young women did not drink intoxicating beverages.

CHUMS, MOMENTS, PUBERTY RITES

Chums were not institutional, but two girls of the same age group in a neighborhood were known to be special friends; sometimes they remained lifelong friends. "I had a girl as a friend. We were about 14 years old, I believe, when we got to be friends; we made fire together and played together like all girls do." 572

12: Faron 2-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[illegible] into the sphere of Mapuche morality, [illegible] from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregations which, for any individual, is lineage-based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage.

A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries.

In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral lore from their parents. This knowledge is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. any *laku*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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867 603 593 learns. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

867 829 603 613 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a recurrent phenomenon among contemporary [769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his [601] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun* [553] (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sees no violence done to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapuchean. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual ambient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

59 189 867 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of [603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

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any given time the family constellation is a link in this never-ending chain of relationships with the past and the future.

Courtship and Marriage

Marriage brings new elementary families into being and provides offspring of regularized unions a clearly legitimate status in the patrilineage and the reservation community. Marriage is a fundamental expression of institutionalized relationships between unilineal descent groups which stand to one another as wife-giver and wife-receiver. It is a structure which involves rights and obligations surrounding the transfer of wealth between such groups, as well as patterned and traditionally sanctioned primary and secondary unions, separation, divorce, ritual belief and action of a congregational nature, and numerous other aspects of sustained social relationship.[1]

During marriage negotiations and nuptials there is much formal concern with spirits ancestral to the cognatic group most directly involved, the union and in most cases the reunion of the two lines, the preservation of descent groups through the legitimate procreation of children and heirs, the substantiation of traditional values through the correct conduct of the marriage ceremony, and so forth. Mapuche notions of incest-exogamy, sanctioned in myth and story and overwhelmingly observed in practice, are reinforced through a number of symbolic acts connected with marriage.

Courtship is a prelude to marriage within the boundaries of the matrilateral system. Conducted along established lines of wife-giving and wife-receiving lineages, courtship provides the setting for premarital sexual affairs on a level of respectability which receives the tacit approval of the elders of any community. The young couple and their immediate families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course and according to traditional form. Marriage is a reaffirmation of the established bonds between segments of a person's cognatic group of relatives, segments which have a sustained marital

[1] Marriage is discussed in more detail in *Mapuche Social Structure* (Faron 1961a).